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Anra is a lonely widower and his only friends seem to be his three great hunting dogs. These live with him in his squalid hut. He is remarkably fond of them and, like a child with her dolls, frequently holds imaginary conversations with them. They are great pals and he could treat them no better even were they his own children. It was with great pride that he one day told me that these very dogs had once saved his life, for, having fallen one dark night on his way home, into a deep ditch from which it was impossible for him to climb out alone, they stood together on the edge and kept up a mighty howling and pitiful wailing till some comrades came and rescued him.

Once when I was in this man's district, he came to see me with a furtive, uneasy, anxious and restless look on his face like a frightened cat. He told me that he was sorely afflicted by visits from demons and was at that moment being pursued by most fearful and diabolical spooks. "Will you deliver me? Can you lay these obnoxious and uncanny ghosts? They are driving me mad, and I can get no rest," he said. Poor old fellow! I strongly suspected *saké* was at the bottom of it all. But he declared it was not so. It was the usual, natural thing with him. They came to him both by day and by night and sometimes showed their wicked spite for half a moon on end. He was so harassed that he ventured to come to me, for he could see no other help elsewhere, he said. This poor old man's madness took the form of persecutions by the disembodied spirits of dwarfs and giants!*

Sometimes, he said, these creatures came to him singly and at others in great companies. They swarmed over the mountains in the north and rushed

* It may be remarked in passing that some of the Ainu believe that in olden times dwarfs and giants lived in Ainu-land and that all these have long since died out. My friend was evidently one who accepted this tradition.

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along the river courses, dressed in the skins of bears, wolves, foxes and dogs. Some even wore coats made of fish skins. "They are hateful creatures," he said. One would almost imagine him to be living in a certain astral state in the nether world which some people appear to believe in. Anyhow, I certainly found him serving his time in a purgatory of sorts.

The spirits would rush up his hill and surround his home and ridicule him. They called him all kinds of bad names. They touched his pride everywhere, for they scoffed at his hut, his furniture, his ancient heirlooms, his very best clothing, and even his little garden. The only things they let alone were his three beloved dogs. These alone seemed to be unaware of the presence of all these demons. He could only combat them by roundly storming at them in return—a process which I have heard going on more than once. "They are in the air even now! Listen! Do you not hear them?" he said. "Look!" he cried with a scared countenance and shaky voice. But I could see nothing, and all I could hear was the sighing of the wind in the tree tops and the murmur of the waves of the Pacific Ocean. And I told him so. But he would not be quiet. It took quite a long time to calm him.

Anra then told me that he was also troubled with visitations from ancient Japanese warriors. And surely there is history behind this. These, he said, came up out of the sea, clad in armour and fully equipped for battle. From head to foot they were always armed and protected. When these come up to take away his land, as he supposes, he girds on his old sword and rushes toward the foe. Brandishing this weapon, and making the surrounding mountains resound with his war cry, he imagines himself to be in the midst of the enemy, fighting single-handed and doing the most wonderful execution. He tells me that he can really see the foe, even though he knows it to be a spiritual battle. In the end, he says, they retreat

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158 defeated and in disorder, but only to return in greater force some other time. After these bouts he lies on his bed many days in a state of exhaustion and semi-unconsciousness. He told me that his father and mother before him, as well as his wife a few years ago, all died thus afflicted. Could I please do something for him? Could I exorcise the demons and purify his dwelling-place?

The old man took me to his hut, where I tried my best to sympathize with him and endeavoured to make him understand that it would be far better for him were he to go down into the plain below and live among other people, where the air was not so rare, and the roaring of the waves and rushing of the winds were not so likely to bring the sound of those voices. But such advice was absolutely useless and it did not do the slightest good to tell him that the apparitions were imaginary only. I then took another tack and spoke to him of his dear departed wife. I suggested to him that it would be a happy time when he was reunited to his beloved lost one. But here I soon found that I had only "opened my mouth to put my foot into it," as the saying goes.

It was truly a very great mistake on my part to speak of his deceased wife. At the mention of her the old man's ire gushed forth like a mighty sulphur-bearing torrent. The air was full of brimstone. I have never seen an Ainu so indignant and explosive. He was furious and I could imagine then what those poor visiting demons, dwarfs and warriors got. "Why," asked he, "should I want to see that lazy old hag? She was an ugly, slovenly, lean, old scarecrow and I never wish to set eyes on her again. She is now well out of sight and hearing; so let her remain forever! The noxious old hussy!" And so forth. I was much edified and amused. His views of the future life and mine did not accord. He knew the old lady and I did not.

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I then thought how well his name suited him—Mr. Black Lily. /58

Anra is yet alive and is still persecuted by his demons and spooks. We still remain the best of friends and whenever I go into his district he never fails to come to visit me. Some twenty years ago, having no children of his own, Anra adopted a Japanese boy as his son. But it is a very sore point with him that a few years ago the young fellow got rid of the old man's property and ran away. And so there he is landless and very poor. But it is a pleasure to be able to say that he is now allowed a small daily portion of rice by the Japanese Government and so is able to keep body and soul together without any special anxiety.

The last time I saw this old man, (which was on July 16, 1926), he told me that he was still troubled by the apparitions, and earnestly asked me to write a charm for him which he could wear on his body. That he thought, would work a spell for him!

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Records inform us that in the year A.D. 776 many of the Ainu chieftains about the northern barriers, which barriers were ever being pushed gradually back, made a great assault on their hereditary foes. They fiercely attacked a fort near Sendai and were so determined in their efforts that at last they took it with all the munitions and supplies stored there. Moreover, they killed the commandant and nearly all the garrison, and spread terror right and left throughout the country as far south as Tokyo, which was at that time known as Musashino. Many terrible battles were fought on land and sea, the victory sometimes resting on one side and sometimes on the other. But in the ninth century the terrible age-long conflict was brought to a close, the victory resting with the Japanese. In the year 855 a civil war broke out among the Ainu, and this so weakened them that when they rose again in 878 it was comparatively easy to deal with them. Since that time the Ainu have not given much trouble and are now a thoroughly subdued people and most loyal to their Japanese conquerors. Some of the chiefs who submitted are said to have become *daimyō*, and doubtless there were many inter-marriages of the two races, as in Hokkaidō at the present time. There are undoubted, ineffaceable traces of this mixture to be seen today throughout the old parts of the Japanese Empire.

When in his fits of madness, Anra, as was shown in the last chapter, supposed himself to be effectually slaughtering enemies in the shape of Japanese warriors, clothed in ancient armour. On such occasions he was "up and at 'em." He meant to avenge the slaughtered dead and to defend his own hearth and home on the top of his little hill. When a child, he had seen both his father and mother, and perhaps his grand-parents too, doing the same kind of thing and hearing the same sounds, as his wife also had done and died. Doubtless, too, he uses the same old sword which

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had been handed down as an heirloom. I can not but think that he was, when in these fits, living in the distant past, his mind having been imbued with stories of the old battles which had been waged by his ancestors.

I hear in this madman another echo of his doomed race resounding down from the ages. I seem to see this poor old fellow, knowing him as I do, engaged in this strange psychic warfare, in this purgatory of war and bloodshed, flushed with the primitive emotions, the ardour and bitter hatred of the hundreds of battles his forebears waged in defence of their beautiful and beloved fatherland. No doubt this old man will die in the midst of one of these fights, so glorious to him.

Some reader may perhaps wonder whether or no Anra the madman's wild fits of visions and frenzy imply what has been termed a psychic "reversion to type;" in other words, whether he is not at such times in the spirit of his ancestors, whether or no his forefathers are now living over again in him the life they lived in history. All the savage hatred and fury of battle are there in full swing and measure. Such an idea would not be in the least contrary to Ainu psychic and religious beliefs. Indeed, it would be quite a natural thing for them to expect. Perhaps this will become more apparent as we proceed with our account of the Ainu. At all events, it is quite certain that the people expect the spirits of slaughtered animals to return and take up their lives again and live on this earth in the same way as before; and the life of human beings and that of the lower orders of creation are thought to be of one and the same essence.

In his ravings, Anra imagines that he is being persecuted by what he terms, *Koropok-guru*, who are, he says, "fiends and dwarfs." Such beings, he informed me, were here together with the Ainu in olden times and were exterminated by his ancestors. That is the reason he believes they are on the side of

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155 the Japanese warriors who appear. They were the
● 158 old-time enemies of the Ainu in common with them. He told me, furthermore, that they were pit dwellers.

172 That some people certainly did live in pits in
342 Hokkaidō and also in Saghalien cannot be doubted, the superstructure of many dwellings being in form very like the ice houses of the Esquimaux. But that they were a race of dwarfs remains yet to be proved. There are no human remains of such, nor are there any place-names other than Ainu in Hokkaidō, excepting those brought here by the Japanese. In the year 1878 I saw hundreds of the remains of these dwellings in the shape of pits, particularly at Kushiro. Some of the excavations suggested old fortresses, and from the heaps of stones they contained one might very reasonably infer that these were missiles used in fighting by those who occupied them.

It has already been shown that the aborigines of ancient Japan were called by a name which means, when translated from the Japanico-Ainu, "Dwellers in earthen houses," *i.e.* just "Pit-dwellers." In Saghalien the name for such dwellings is, *toche*, "earth houses." They were built over shallow pits which were about three feet deep. The superstructure consisted of poles set up and bent over at the top ends; they were well covered with bark, straw and earth. There are stories which tell how the Tungusic inhabitants of Saghalien used to attack these dwellings by sudden swoops upon them, riding on reindeer, stuff lighted grass down the holes used for the smoke to escape from, kill the men as they rushed out, and take the women and children captive. We are informed that the Ainu gave up living in such pit-dwellings many years ago and the present inhabitants of Hokkaidō have quite forgotten all about such houses. The remains of them now to be seen mean nothing to them. The northern Ainu say they abandoned them because they were so stuffy. When used now, it is only

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on shore by the tide. Some distance off an outcast horse was attacked by thousands of famished crows. It is not an uncommon occurrence in Yezo. The black scavengers generally attack very young animals, and, flying on the pony's head, peck out its eyes. The pony, frightened, and driven mad by pain, bolts, and in his blind and reckless race either falls down a precipice and is killed outright, or else is driven to the coast by these daring wretches, which continue to peck at him with cruel and ceaseless avidity. There, with its way barred by the waves, tortured to death, and neighing desperately, the helpless beast succumbs, and affords the hungry birds a good meal, while hundreds gathered thick on the body, peck the poor brute to death. Thousands of others sit screaming in long rows round the scene of the fight, attentively watching for the final result, when they too can join in, and experience the joys of sated hunger. Nature can indeed be cruel.

I stopped at a hut. My host was decidedly peculiar. For convenience we shall call him Omangus, which only means a "gone man," or a lunatic. I had heard of him further south, and I was anxious to make his acquaintance. I had not been five minutes in his hut before I perceived that he really was a lunatic. His head was of an abnormally large size; his skull was well developed at the back, with those prominent bumps behind the ears which show great love of eating. His forehead was high, and very slanting; the upper part was wider than near the eyebrows, which were so thick and bushy as nearly to cover the eyes. His nose, with its large nostrils, was stumpy and covered with hair, while his enormous projecting eyes were restless and fierce. His luxuriant moustache and beard matched the thick crop of long black hair which covered his whole body. His legs were short, wiry, with stiff and swollen joints, probably owing to rheumatism. His arms were very long, and his toes were also abnormally long. Altogether he had the appearance of a large orang-outang more than that of a human being. All his movements resembled those of a wild beast, and now and then, when pleased or dissatisfied, he would groan in a way not dissimilar to the growling of a bear. In fact, he was labouring under the belief that he was a wild beast of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

some sort, and apparently he regarded himself as a "bruin." I never heard him speak or utter words, but whether he was actually dumb or not I was not able to ascertain, as every time I tried to examine his mouth he attempted to bite me. His biting, however, was of a different nature from that of the sweet girl on the Saruma shores, and when he did bite he bit well. One day in a struggle I came off nearly minus two joints of the third finger of my right hand.

I several times attempted to take measurements of his skull and bones, but with no success. Once, as I had got hold of him and was feeling the "bumps" on his skull, he managed to disentangle himself, and grabbed me by the hair, which led to a conflict, and caused me a "très mauvais quart d'heure." We fought desperately, and I was thoroughly "licked"; not, however, before having found out that he had no bump of sensitiveness and none of philoprogenitiveness. He was pleased with his victory, and the hostilities ended. He hopped away cautiously, and I saw him climb on his hands and feet over the cliff near his hut, where he disappeared.

Some hours later I saw the monomaniac stealthily creeping back among the rocks. I was some way from the hut, in a place where he could not see me. He came slowly forward, watching the hut suspiciously, as he evidently thought I was still inside. When he got near he stopped to pick up a large stone, and with it in his right hand he sneaked along towards the hut. He listened, and crept in. I followed immediately after. He was furious when I entered, and tried to escape, but I barred his way. He retreated into a corner, crouched down groaning, and showed signs of impatience. I could see that he was frightened, and I went to him and endeavoured to soothe him; not without success, for he became quieter, and I once more noticed the great power that a stronger will can exercise over a weaker one. As long as I was staring at him he never dared to move, and I could "will" him to do almost anything I wanted by thinking hard that he should do it; but when once I turned my eyes away I had no more control over him.

This is just what happened that day. Thinking that he would keep quiet for some minutes, I got out my palette and

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brushes in order to take his likeness. I had till then relied on my power of "willing" people, when my host, seizing the opportunity of my turning my head away for one moment,

MY HOST, THE MADMAN.

grabbed the stone which he had picked up, and threw it with great force at me. I was hit in the ribs, and was hurt sufficiently to lose my temper. I went for him, and gave him a sound thrashing, which sometimes has more effect than all the "willing" in the world. He became docile after that, and I took him outside and forced him to squat down.

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He was restless while I was painting him, and hundreds of half-starved crows, which seemed to be on good terms with my sitter, gathered round him, chatting in their incomprehensible and noisy language. Some of them even flew on to his back and shoulders, and he touched them without their flying away.

I was astounded at the familiarity which existed between the madman and the birds. They seemed to understand each other, and had I only been sufficiently imaginative I might have asserted that I even saw them kissing him. Unfortunately, when the first astonishment was over I understood the reason of the affection on the part of the scavengers, and the whole mystery was unveiled to me. Like all mysteries, the apparently extraordinary friendship between the madman and the black birds turned out to be a plain bit of literal prose, and, I must add, a very disgusting bit. The maniac was covered with vermin, and the affectionate kisses of the crows were not kisses of love or sympathy, but only mouthfuls of parasites, which they found among the thick hair of his body.

Two or three times the maniac crawled up to me, and seemed anxious to touch the colours on my palette, and also to put his fingers on the sketch. He saw that he gained nothing by being a foe, so he became a friend. He even became a great friend when I presented him with a shiny silver coin.

Though Omangus was undoubtedly insane, he was a very practical person. As will be seen by the illustration, his attire was simple, and no allowance was made for pockets. He looked at the coin, turned it over in his hands several times, and grinned; then he placed it in his mouth for safe keeping. His mouth was apparently his purse. As I saw that he was fond of silver coins, I gave him one or two more, and all of them were religiously kept in the same natural pocket, except at night, when he hid them under a large stone. At sunrise they were collected again and placed back under his tongue or in one of his cheeks.

I cannot say that my host was by any means brilliant, but, like most lunatics, he was a good soul apart from his little peculiarities. It was unfortunate that he had lost the power of speech, or I might have learnt some strange things from him.

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158 Omangus was generally restless at night, and while asleep he seemed to suffer from awful nightmares. Most Ainu as a rule do not. One morning at dawn, as the first rays of light penetrated the hut, I watched him. He had been groaning frightfully all night, and I had not been able to sleep. He was lying flat on his back breathing heavily, and now and then he had a kind of spasm, during which he ground his teeth together with violence. It was during these spasms, or nervous contractions, that he groaned most fiercely. As he was so stretched I noticed how extraordinarily long his femur was compared to his tibia. I gently placed my hand over his heart, and found it was beating rapidly and irregularly. His forehead also was feverish and abnormally warm. He did not wake up, but as soon as the nervous strain was over he fell into a lethargic state. He appeared to have lost all strength, and it took me some time to awake him; but he finally opened his eyes, and, drowsily getting up, yawned to his heart's content, and went to fetch the hidden coins.

The more I saw of Omangus, the more he puzzled me. His faculties were defective; still, he seemed to possess a fairly good memory. If not, how could he remember the concealed treasure? Although he was not able to form ideas of his own, he could retain those which he had grasped. His hearing was extremely acute, and his inability to speak must have undoubtedly been caused by paralysis of the tongue and vocal organs. Several times he made violent attempts to utter words, which he would not have done had he been born dumb.

158 123 After the second day of my pleasant stay in Omangus' ten feet square sea-side residence my host became more genial and even affectionate. Instead of constantly running away from me he sat opposite me, attentively watching all my movements; and if I happened to be whistling, he slowly crept nearer, grinning with delight. Occasionally he crouched himself by my side, even resting against me. I did not approve of the latter proof of affection, not so much for his own sake as on account of the "large company" which he carried with him; but I had to put up with it until I found a counter-action in loud singing, which frightened him away.

Omangus had a quantity of last year's salmon, which he had

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dried in the sun, and which was now hanging from the roof of the little hut. The first day or two of my stay there I had but little to eat, owing to his belligerent behaviour. He rebelled every time that I attempted to touch his provisions, and what I had to eat was generally appropriated while my host was out. Afterwards, however, he became generous, and gave me more than I wanted. He took good care to draw the three coins out of his mouth while he was eating, but once, during a nervous fit, to which he was often subject, he swallowed one of them.

One morning, weary of my lunatic friend's company, I packed all my traps and went to fetch my pony. Omangus seemed aghast, suspecting that I was about to leave. He was restless, and followed me, moaning, from the hut to the pony and back, and, with a forlorn look in his eyes, watched me bring the baggage outside and lash it to the pack-saddle. I gave him a couple more silver coins, which I thought would make him happy; but he dropped them in the sand. I bade good-bye to him and left; and there poor Omangus stood motionless, gazing at me until the winding shore took me round the cliff. He was out of sight for some minutes, but he soon reappeared on the summit of the cliff itself, on to which he rapidly climbed, and from this point of vantage he could see the coast for several miles. There standing, a black figure against the rising sun, the hairy Ainu became smaller and smaller as I moved away from him, until nothing but a black spot could be seen against the sky; then even that spot disappeared. It was the last I saw of my host the madman.

The rivers were troublesome all along this part of my journey, and as most of them had quicksands, the safest plan was to cross them in a boat, when this was obtainable. However, as I went further north the boats became scarce and more scarce, and the small villages, few and very far between. I seldom came across a human being with whom I could exchange a word, and the constant solitude induced in me the bad habit of talking to myself, to animals, or to inanimate objects. My unfortunate pony was often lectured on different subjects, and the millions of seagulls and penguins all along the coast were asked questions of all sorts, which, however, they invariably left unanswered. It was strange to see the

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Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

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A high moral standard, whether got from philosophic breadth or Christian virtues, does not suit a despised barbarian race like the Ainu. Nothing could or does kill them quicker than civilisation. Experiments have been tried to civilise certain Ainu: they were made to wash, bathe, and live in comfortable, clean quarters: they were instructed and got good food; but after a few months they had to be sent back to their native place and ways, for civilisation only killed them.

The half-castes have none of the good qualities of either race. They are neither as brave as the Ainu nor courteous and light-hearted like the Japanese. The following remarks, which I take direct from my diary, were written by me between Shimokebo and Tomakomai, on the south-west coast of Yezo, where many half-breeds are found along the sea-shore, and I shall pass them on untouched to my readers.

"The Ainu along this coast were decidedly ugly. Many half-breeds are also found along this coast. These half-breeds invariably grow bald in early life, whereas the Ainu do not. The hair on their back, arms, and legs is not so long or so thick as with the pure Ainu. Their teeth are neither so strong nor so sound. As is usually the case when a mixture of two or more races takes place, the lower and upper jaws not being of the right proportion, it follows as a matter of course that unusual pressure and friction injure and wear out the enamel of the teeth, thus causing premature decay. The Americans and Australians are good examples of this premature decay caused by the disproportion of the upper and lower jaws. Also, teeth which do not fit well together sometimes grow so long as to be a nuisance to the person who owns them. I found that these half-breeds have all the bad qualities of both the Ainu and the Japanese, and have not retained any of the good ones. They are ill-tempered, lazy, and vindictive. It is well to mention that, on the Japanese side, they have come mostly from the criminals exported by the Japanese Government, which fact partly explains why they are so evil-minded and untrustworthy. Instead of falling into the more civilised ways of the Japanese, these half-breeds prefer the wild life of their Ainu ancestors; and if anything they are wilder than the Ainu themselves. Insanity is very common among half-breeds.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died.

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*.

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river.

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sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification.

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described.

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also.

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort.

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised.

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practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neuralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

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the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

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There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

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In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

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A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

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[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

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Translation of *Uebekere* (legend):

539. *Uepekan and the doings of Pauchi Kamui.*

In a region of the Ishikari river was a person called Uepekan. News came to Uepekan that flighty flockings of the folk in his village were being roused by Pauchi Kamui. Behind this [mischievous glamouring by Pauchi] he was, as it were, the trigger cord of a spring-bow set in ambush, the thread of a spider [awaiting its prey]. He alone of all the Ainu could see the outstretched line of the spring-bow, the slightest touch of which must be warily shunned. He felt keen family anxiety for his relatives who could not keep clear of it. By invoking the gods, this evil, after long and wearisome struggle, finally disappeared.

After it had been entirely driven out of his district, there appeared before him a lovely woman, with face illumined as if by lightning, who tripped laughingly—yes laughing!—up to him. [This supernatural being was no other than the chief retainer of the deluding deity, Pauchi. Her wiles having been set at naught by the insight and strength of Uepekan, she had come to love him.] Thus she spake:

"Ainu master, my heart is far too strongly touched [for a goddess]. I can resist no more. To me it seemed good to have amusement [of dancing] with you. But this cannot be since you have made it impossible. Master, I must now expose my body, hitherto seen by no mortal man, that I may prove my true wish to abide peacefully with you as your wife for ever. Do listen to me!"

(Answered Uepekan):

'If it be as you say, divine maid in human form, I worshipfully am willing. My divine wife having shown her own body to prove her true choice, I shall evermore be thankful.'

Thereafter, when Uepekan took a long walk to any place in summer, a heavy but passing shower of rain visited it before his arrival. In winter, before he reached his destination, it was visited by a violent though quickly ceasing storm of wind and hail.

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786 *An account by Munro of the dancing mania:*

Allowing for slight variations in individual accounts there is remarkable unanimity in the statements given by *ekashi*. Sporadic outbursts are said to have occurred; the most widespread and violent epidemic was between two and three centuries ago, counting roughly by generations. It seems to have spread like wild-fire. Men and women under an irresistible mimetic impulse 'rose like flocks of birds'. Leaping and

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dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

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158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The 791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called [775 upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a [825 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*
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791 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* – an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

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Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the snakes] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*korai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.